/139 cont./

153 As for the memory, he has one a little more awake for the subjects that interest him. Thus he has less difficulty in learning some words or sentences of the Portuguese language, or in reading (4)

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> 4. In 1948 I took to the Museu Salesiano do Índio de S. Paulo /Salesian Museum of the Indian in São Paulo/ the written tests of the children of Pari-cachoeira, after only eight months of school, consisting of a short dictation executed with good penmanship and few mistakes.

and in retaining the names of places, of persons, or in recalling the events. With more difficulty he will learn by heart the arithmetic tables or the prayers. And he also feels happy when the civilized man reminds him of some episode in which the Indian took part. Later, the desire to become "white," that is, to become civilized, moves him. For this reason he adjusts to the great sacrifice of entering a boarding school and attending classes, as well as of subjecting himself to the school discipline.

[829]
[872]

2) Practical intelligence.

As for the practical intelligence, it is more highly developed. This is proved by the practical solution of the problems that life presents to him, and with the resources that nature makes available to him. The civilized in those regions, when they do not have other resources available, end up, in certain things, imitating the Indian, or entrusting him with the execution of what is needed. It is enough to point out, for example, the solid and large house /140/ or maloca that he builds, the stable and rapid canoe that he makes, and the numerous objects that he manufactures (vessels, grater, baskets).

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

always tended to occupy the narrow headwaters of tributaries while the strong and the top-ranking sibs have favored the large rivers and their mighty cataracts. But while these strong and proud sibs in their exposed positions were able to withstand enemy Indians, they have succumbed more to Colombian and Brazilian missionaries and traders. Thus, the sibs that the Indians refer to as our "head" are now the most acculturated, and the low-ranking sibs the least.

I estimate the population of the Cubeo at under 2,500. This is a crude figure based on a calculation of somewhat under 100 persons per sib on the Cuduiarí, the only river that I had occasion to explore along its entire length. Population was undoubtedly greater in the past. On the Cuduiarí there were 29 main residence sites,[2] each averaging some 30 to 35 people, some only a few minutes by canoe from their nearest neighbors, but for the most part they were separated by at least an hour of steady canoeing. This is high population density for the region. On other rivers in the region, houses are separated by at least half a day's journey by canoe. A severe influenza epidemic swept the region in 1917–18 and took a heavy toll of lives, the Indians say. A number of sibs whose names are still remembered are now extinct. The Colombian government census of 1938, which did not tally tribes, listed some 7,000 Indians for the entire *Comisaría del Vaupés* (Colombia, 1942). This figure, too, is surely an estimate, since an accurate head count is virtually impossible. During the period of my stay among them, the Indians, in a state of alarm over rumors that their young men were all to be conscripted for labor in the rubber forests, were understandably nervous about censuses and genealogical explorations so that my own efforts at counting were severely handicapped.

The term "Cubeo" is a Europeanization of the Tucanoan word *kebéwa*, that means, literally, "the people that are not." It is a jest name applied to them by some other Tucanoan-speaking tribe. Most Indians were not aware that they were called "Cubeos," while those who understood what it meant did not like the name. Strictly speaking, there is no tribal name. A man will always identify himself by his sib name, never by phratry and never by tribe. In the course of discussions with the ethnologist on native conceptions of "tribe" the Indians offered some self-designations. The most common was *pamíwa* (first people). They also offered *pʉ̃nwa* (people), and then referred to other tribes as *apépwãnwa* (other people). I doubt, however, that any Cubeo Indian has ever spontaneously declared himself to be a

[2] There is a list of these communities at the end of this chapter.

7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967
SQ19 Tucano SQ19

197 tentative list of languages, as the listing of "tribes" was ostensibly also a listing of "languages." For the many informants asked, the criterion of tribal distinctiveness includes, by their own cultural definition, mutual unintelligibility between languages. It seemed premature to construct formal tests to explore degrees of mutual intelligibility between languages that were obviously genetically related (Voegelin and Harris 1951), but when asked directly, informants confirmed their mutual unintelligibility. The field procedure that I preferred and used was to watch for occasions when an Indian would comment that he had not understood someone else in a discussion where more than one language was spoken, at which time I would inquire what were the languages concerned. I depended on an Indian commenting in Tukano to identify nonunderstanding situations, but I was also able to pick up cues of "I don't understand" that I recognized in a number of the other languages. Thus I learned that such apparently closely related languages as Desano and Siriano, and even Tuyuka and Yurutí (see next two paragraphs), are mutually unintelligible. These and similar languages that are very closely related genetically make the central Northwest Amazon area an excellent one for close examination of the problem of language versus dialect (see Haugen 1966b).

[125]

Several language families are represented in this multilingual area: Eastern Tukanoan, Arawakan, Indo-European, Tupí-Guaranían, and others that remain undetermined (cf. Mason 1950, Noble 1965). Of these, the family most widely represented and with the largest number of languages is the Eastern Tukanoan, a family that seems to be contained entirely within the Northwest Amazon. The following discussion of my impressions is limited to this family.

I have made a preliminary attempt to reconstruct the Eastern Tukanoan family, using the comparative method on 13 of its languages on which I have field materials. The resulting subgroupings (see list in the appendix) definitely do not correlate with *phratric* groupings. Apparently the language most closely related to Tukano is Tuyuka, which is not intelligible to Tukano-speakers, not even "with difficulty." In phonology, morphology, and lexicon, one is considerably more distant from the other than Jutish is from Standard Danish (cf. Haugen 1955). However, in the field and on

[P. 674-B]